

The Tocqueville Conversations 2019

2019 Edition
« The Future of Nations »



FONDATION
TOCQUEVILLE

Sous l'égide de la Fondation Entreprendre

LE FIGARO



The Tocqueville Conversations

Who are we ?

The Tocqueville Conversations were born out of the convergence of four key elements: an acute political understanding of the depth of the crisis Western democracies are facing, both in the US and in Europe; an urgent civic need to move beyond the dogmatic comfort governing elites have entertained, to address our problems and look for solutions; the renewed awareness of the immediate relevance of Alexis de Tocqueville, the great liberal thinker of the Democratic age, who analyzed masterfully both the conditions, realities and risks inherent to Democratic systems, on both sides of the Atlantic; and lastly, the foresight of the Tocqueville Family, who saw in advance the symbolic significance of holding our Conversations at The Tocqueville Château, where the great thinker wrote his Magnus Opus, *Democracy in America*.

In the fall of 2017, informed by her work on the « Trumpian popular revolt » during the Trump campaign, and then by numerous trips throughout a Europe swept by similar rebellions, Laure Mandeville, Senior reporter with Le Figaro, France's oldest national daily, envisioned a grand-scale conference on the crisis of Democracy in the West. Understanding the significance of the writings of Alexis de Tocqueville in our current crisis, she reaches out to Jean Guillaume de Tocqueville, President of The Tocqueville Foundation, whose mission is to keep alive the work and spirit of his renowned ancestor and to promote civil society initiatives. Concurrently, Le Figaro, which has become a leading force in examining the causes of our democratic crisis, decides to bring its intellectual resources to the project. On the other side of the Atlantic, they join forces with Joshua Mitchell, professor of political theory at Georgetown University and a leading expert on Tocqueville; and with Vice President Damon Wilson, Ambassador Craig Stapleton and Former minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain Ana Palacio at the Atlantic Council. The region Normandy and the Departement of La Manche, where the Tocqueville Château is situated, also become key partners for the event. The Tocqueville Conversations are born.

What are our goals

- Create « a Davos of Democracy » at the Tocqueville Chateau, to contribute to the protection and strengthening of our democracies.
- Create an international Tocquevillian network dedicated to reinvent the transatlantic relationship with strong partners, strong democratic values and robust civic life.
- Get out of the failing opposition between « good globalists » and « evil nationalists » (or vice versa), by outlining the contours of a new social and political consensus that protects the nation, reshapes Europe and defines areas of cooperation on a wider international scale.
- Address the reality of problems that the popular rebellions reveal (disruption of globalisation, rise of inequalities, challenge of immigration, tension between islamic fundamentalism and modernity, crisis of identity...), and face the challenges of a world in disorder.



The Tocqueville Conversations

Tocqueville Conversations 1st Edition, « Democracy in the West in the 21st century », June 8-9, 2018

In June 2018, the Tocqueville Foundation, le Figaro, and the Atlantic Council, launch « The Tocqueville Conversations », an intellectual event designed to be a forum for in-depth discussions of the challenges facing our democracies. For two days, under the auspices of the great French Philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville, 150 prominent thinkers, politicians and representatives of business and civil society discuss the nature of the popular rebellions sweeping the West, in the beautiful and symbolic setting of the Tocqueville Château, in Normandy.

No difficult topics are avoided, and the debates take place in an atmosphere characterized by civility and a willingness to listen, in the hope of establishing the higher ground positions that distinguish the Tocquevillian approach. The growing and worrying gap between the elites and the people, is analyzed, and Former French Primer Minister Bernard Cazeneuve warns of a crisis very much alike the one Tocqueville had warned about, in front of a « sleeping » National Assembly in 1848. The crisis of globalization is discussed in great details, socio-economic and cultural tensions underlined, the question of identity and the challenge of islamism for our Western societies addressed by many speakers and members of the audience with differing opinions. The Digital Revolution and its mutiple traps are examined. Director of the US National Intelligence Dan Coats and Former political prisoner Mikhail Khodorkovski, scrutinize the Russian Challenge to our democracies. During two days, fruitful intellectual links are established and, to paraphrase the formula of the British historian Roger Scruton, “conversation produced civilization”. The overall conclusion is that we are currently sitting on a volcano, very much like Europe in 1848.



The Tocqueville Conversations

Tocqueville Conversations, Second Edition, « The Future of Nations », June 28-29, 2019

Given the enthusiastic support expressed after the first event for a continuation of the Conversations, and in light of the growing ideological and geopolitical crisis unravelling worldwide, we have decided to continue this transatlantic adventure, and will hold the second edition of the Tocqueville Conversations on the 28-29 of June 2019, just after key European parliamentary elections.

In our first edition, we focused on Western Democracy in the twenty-first century, and on the various internal and external threats posed to it. Our concern was whether elites were so out of tune with the citizenry that a « populist » revolution might be right around the corner – an idea confirmed by the sudden revolt of the French Gilets Jaunes a few months later. This theme will still be on our minds.

But in 2019, we want to address the crisis of democracy from a different perspective, by focusing our gaze on « The Future of Nations ». For years, nations seemed condemned to become ever weaker. The nation was a dying concept, destined to melt away. The emergence of supranational institutions and transnational structures undermined the very sovereignty of the nation states. Nations, however, seem to be making a comeback these days as the « Home to defend » from the disruption of globalization. We need look no further than the America First, Italy First, and « Brexit » Movements for confirmation. Nations are suddenly being seen as a protective structure in a world where nothing seems stable.

Our purpose, therefore, will be to evaluate the relevance of nations in tackling the multiple challenges facing our democracies, giving a special focus to the big issue of the moment, immigration and borders. Coming just after the results of the European elections, this concern will be particularly relevant. We will also devote attention to the role of nations in the international system, and the limits to that role, in our new and growingly abrasive multipolar world. We intend to take a special look at the relationship between nations and global business. We will also address the relevance of the Western world and the transatlantic relationship, as their position and democratic systems are becoming more and more challenged by rising authoritarian regimes.



The Tocqueville Conversations

The Tocqueville Conversations Co-organizers

The Tocqueville Foundation

Le Figaro

The American Interest

The Atlantic Council

The Tocqueville Conversations Partnerships

Already on board :

La Manche Department

Normandy region

Urban Community - Cotentin

French American Foundation

The Fund for American Studies

Carnegie Corporation of New York

Paris Aeroport

Viacom

Enedis

Champagne Pol-Roger

Private Donors

Members of the Steering Committee

Co-chairs : Ana PALACIO, former Minister of foreign Affairs of Spain and
Craig STAPLETON, Former US ambassador to France

BEUCLER Pascal, International Consultant

GEDMIN Jeffrey, Editor in Chief of The American Interest

LAUGEE Jean-Christophe, CEO of the Ecosystem Fund

MANDEVILLE Laure, Senior Reporter with Le Figaro

MELONIO Françoise, Senior Tocqueville Scholar

MITCHELL Joshua, Professor of political theory at Georgetown University, Tocqueville Scholar

TOCQUEVILLE (de) Stéphanie, Tocqueville Foundation

TOCQUEVILLE (de) Jean-Guillaume, Chairman of the Tocqueville Foundation

VEIT François, Lawyer



The Tocqueville Conversations 2019

Presentation

Theme of the Tocqueville Conversations in 2019 : « The Future of Nations »

The Tocqueville Conversations will be preceded by :

4, 5, 7 or 8th of May: A celebration of the Franco-American relation, with a **special event around Lafayette and Tocqueville**, aboard the French frigate L'Hermione which will be moored in Cherbourg on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the Victory.

4th and 5th of June : A **workshop** during the event « **Normandie pour la Paix** » on the theme of the Craftsmen of Peace.

28th and 29th of June : The Tocqueville Conversations 2019

At the Tocqueville Château



The Tocqueville Conversations 2019

Pre-program

« Nothing is more wonderful than the art of being free, but nothing is harder than to learn how to use this freedom. » Alexis de Tocqueville

Day ONE : The Nation, Reconsidered

Opening of the conference

Jean-Michel Blanquer –Minister of National Education of France (confirmed)

Roundtable 1 - The Nation and the Crisis of Western Democracies : should the Nation be protected ?

Is the Nation still a needed and relevant “Home” to tackle the crisis of globalization and democracy, or is global—or European—citizenship the horizon of the West? As the idea of a national “home” reemerges, how should we think about the relationship between state, economy and society, majority and minorities in order to have healthy nations? Are there problems that the nation can address that a global order cannot, such as tribalism and the growing isolation of citizens everywhere?

Moderator: Alain Finkielkraut, French philosopher and public intellectual (confirmed)

Harvey Mansfield, American political philosopher, Harvard University, (confirmed)

Ben Rhodes, Former Advisor to President Obama – Strategic Communications (confirmed)

Pierre Manent, French philosopher, Professor of political philosophy, (confirmed)

Lunch – The German nation and the European uncertainty

Conversation with **Joschka Fischer**, Former Foreign Minister and Vice Chancellor of Germany (confirmed) and **Jean-David Levitte**, Ambassador of France (confirmed) moderated by **Jeffrey Gedmin**, Editor in Chief of The American Interest (confirmed)



The Tocqueville Conversations 2019

Pre-program

Day ONE : The Nation, Reconsidered

Roundtable 2 - Nations and the challenge of mass immigration

One of the most acute challenges facing Western Nations is the permeability of borders and the emergence of mass migrations. In the next few years, millions of people will head north, crossing the US border and the Mediterranean to get to Europe. What should be the response to this key challenge ? How do countries of departure retain their youth ? How do we help them to do so ? In countries of arrival, what is the role of borders ? Do nations have a right to protect them ? To the extent that borders are permeable, how should immigrants from other nations be integrated and what is their responsibility for acculturating to their new national homes ?

Moderator: Laure Mandeville, Senior Reporter, Le Figaro (confirmed)

Keynote Speaker, Mo Ibrahim, Founder Mo Ibrahim Foundation (confirmed)

Stephen Smith, Professor of Political Science Duke University (confirmed)

Josh Mitchell, Professor of political theory, Georgetown University, Tocqueville scholar (confirmed)

Saad Amrani, Chief –Commissioner, strategic advisor of the Commissioner General of the Federal police in Belgium (confirmed)

Dinner - Poland, Europe and the new world: a Conversation with Lech Walesa, Former President of Poland (confirmed)

Followed by a discussion with **Ana Palacio** Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain (confirmed)

Theatre Interlude- What Solzhenitsyn told us about the Western crisis

Harvard's speech by **Hervé Mariton** (confirmed)



The Tocqueville Conversations 2019

Pre-program

Day TWO : Nations and the New World dis(Order)

Roundtable 3: “Nation First” and the future of the international system

By announcing a foreign policy centered on the National Interest and the concept of America First, Donald Trump has sent an earthquake wave throughout the International system. In trade, he started a real confrontation with his « adversaries », mostly China, in order to redefine the terms of globalization, not even sparing his allies of the Atlantic Alliance. Many see in this unilateral approach, a real threat to multilateralism and worry about the disappearance of the Liberal Order, if the primus inter pares doesn't respect it. The China-US growing confrontation worries many. But is international order the result of power relations or international norms, a mix of the two ? What will be the consequences of the return of nations in the balance of power ? What is the right balance between national interest and the need to protect « our Common house » ?

Moderator: Benjamin Haddad, Director, Future Europe Initiative Atlantic Council (confirmed)

Dana White, Former spokeswoman for the US Secretary of Defense (confirmed)

Justin Vaïsse, President of the Peace Forum (confirmed)

Pierre-André de Chalendar, CEO of Saint-Gobain (confirmed)

Mathieu Bock Côté, Sociologist and essayist, HEC Montréal (confirmed)

Conversation - Business and the Nations

Conversation with **Dede Lea**, Executive Vice President – Government Affairs at Viacom, Inc (to be confirmed) and **Scott Carpenter**, Head of the Jigsaw Division, Google (confirmed) moderated by **Ana Palacio** Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain (confirmed)



The Tocqueville Conversations 2019

Pre-program

Day TWO : Nations and the New World dis(Order)

Lunch - The future of Europe

Conversation with **François-Xavier Bellamy**, European Deputy (confirmed) and **Pavel Fischer**, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defense of the Senate of the Czech Republic (confirmed) moderated by **Vincent Trémolet de Villers**, Deputy Editorial Director at Le Figaro (confirmed)

Roundtable 4 : Nations, democracy and Foreign Policy

Is the West still relevant and is the weakening of the transatlantic relation transitory? Do Alliances still matter in an « America First » world? What kind of foreign policy for Western nations will be needed in a multipolar world, towards such powers as China or Russia ? What are we willing to tolerate ? How do we live in a plural world of nations, where some countries are democratic and others are not ? Where do we draw boundaries and where do we cooperate ? Is realpolitik the answer, or is there a need for moral standards and norms in our Hobbesian world ? If so, how will such standards and norms be agreed upon and enforced ?

Moderator: Dana White, Former spokeswoman for the US Secretary of Defense (confirmed)

Walter Russell Mead, Historian, Bard College (confirmed)

Boris Akounine, Russian writer (confirmed)

David Goldman, Essayist, Asian Times (confirmed)

Conclusion

Bernard Cazeneuve – Former Prime Minister of France (confirmed)

Annexes

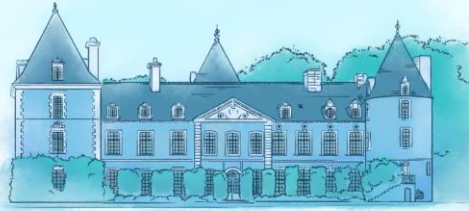
- **2018 Program « Democracy in the West » and Press Kit**
- **Presentation of The Tocqueville Conversations co-organizers**



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First edition of the Tocqueville Conversations

June 8 and 9, 2018

With the 2018 Tocqueville Conversations, The Tocqueville Foundation, the newspaper Le Figaro, the Think Tank Atlantic Council, contributed to the launching of an in-depth debate on the future of “Democracy in the West”.

Their joint enterprise brought together politicians, intellectuals and civil society leaders from both shores of the Atlantic, for a taboo-free discussion at the Tocqueville Château, a symbolic place where the great work of the Normand philosopher of democracy in America was written.

2018 Program

« Democracy in the West »

Friday, June 8

Welcoming remarks : JG de Tocqueville ;
Marc Lefèvre, Chairman of La Manche ; Alexis
Brézet, Editor in chief of Le Figaro

Opening : Former Prime Minister Bernard
Cazeneuve

**First Roundtable – *Democracy and
populism: crisis of representation or
existential challenge to our existing
understandings?***

Speakers : Ana Palacio, Pierre Manent, Joshua
Mitchell, Hubert Védrine

**Lunch – *A Chinese look at western
Democracy***

Speakers : Hongtu Li, Claude Martin

**Second Roundtable – *Democracy and
globalization: is inclusive growth
possible?***

Speakers : Damon Wilson, François-Xavier
Bellamy, Clara Gaymard, David Goodhart, Joel
Kotkin, Augustin de Romanet

**Dinner-debate – *Democracy in the West:
threats and challenges, a vision from
America***

Speaker : Dan Coats

Conversation: *Europe in a time of crisis*

Speakers : Jeffrey Gedmin, Dan Coats, Pavel
Fischer

Saturday, June 9

**Third Roundtable – *Democracy and
religious fundamentalism: what
challenges?***

Speakers : Laure Mandeville, Gilles
Kepel, Mathieu Bock-Côté, Hakim El
Karoui, Shadi Hamid, Malika Sorel-
Sutter,

**Lunch-Conversation – *A Russian
look at western Democracy***

Speakers : Celestine Bohlen, Mikhail
Khodorkovski

**Fourth Roundtable – *Democracy
and the digital revolution.***

Speakers : Benjamin Haddad, Alina
Polyakova, Alexis Brézet, Scott Carpenter,
Thomas Evans

Wrap up of the Conversations :

Vincent Trémolet de Villers

2018 Program

Press kit

Speech of Dan Coats, published the 9th of June 2018 “Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats: ‘Look at the Actions of the Russian States, not Putin’s Pronouncements’ ”

<http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/news/transcripts/director-of-national-intelligence-dan-coats-look-at-the-actions-of-the-russian-state-not-putin-s-pronouncements>

Article of Ashish Kumar Sen, the 9th of June 2018, “Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats : Russia is attempting to influence US Midterms, Divide Transatlantic Alliance”

<http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/director-of-national-intelligence-dan-coats-russia-is-attempting-to-influence-us-midterms-divide-transatlantic-alliance>

Article of Laure Mandeville and Joshua Mitchell, « Democracy in danger: confusing the symptoms of disorder with its cause »

<http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/democracy-in-danger-confusing-the-symptoms-of-disorder-with-its-cause>

Article of Catherine Audard, “Les Conversations Tocqueville, 1e édition 8-9 juin 2018” in The Tocqueville Review

<https://tocqueville21.com/the-tocqueville-review-revue-tocqueville/>

Presentation of The Tocqueville Conversations Co-organizers

The Tocqueville Foundation



The Tocqueville Foundation is an international operating and prize awarding foundation, registered in France under the auspices of the Fondation Entreprendre. Its mission and vision are deeply rooted in Alexis de Tocqueville's social and political thought, and particularly his belief in the fundamental contribution of civil society to democratic and economic development.

The programs of the Tocqueville Foundation include the Tocqueville Conversations, the Tocqueville Challenge which builds bridges between the corporate, nonprofit and academic worlds, and the Prince's Roundtable on Philanthropy and Prince's prize, co-organized with the Prince Albert II foundation, which gather yearly major philanthropists in Monaco.

Le Figaro



Le Figaro is a French daily morning newspaper founded in 1826 and published in Paris. It is the oldest national daily in France and is the second-largest national newspaper, with an online circulation of more than 10 million unique visitors, a fast growing TV channel and many additional publications. With a center-right editorial line, the newspaper is owned by Le Figaro Group which is part of the Dassault group since 2004.

The American Interest



The American Interest (AI) is a bimonthly magazine focusing primarily on political philosophy, society, foreign policy, international affairs, global economics, and military matters. It is available in print on newsstands and in bookstores, and has a fast growing online edition. The magazine was founded in 2005 by Francis Fukuyama and Charles Davidson, on the model of the French Intellectual journal « Commentaire ». A fraction of the editorial board of the National Interest, joined the project at its onset.

The Atlantic Council



The Atlantic Council is an American think tank specializing in international affairs. Founded in 1961, it considers the defense and deepening of the transatlantic relationship as a key mission, and has also developed expertise on most regions of the world. It also provides advice to policymakers and a forum of debate on foreign policy and national security for world leaders, intellectuals and the business community. It manages ten regional centers and functional programs related to international security and global economic prosperity. It is headquartered in Washington, D.C.